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17 March 1986

USSR REPORT INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

PEOPLES OF ASIA AND AFRICA

No 5, SEPTEMBER-OCTOBER 1985

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ENGLISH SUMMARIES OF MAJOR ARTICLES

Moscow NARODY AZII I AFRIKI in Russian No. 5, Sep-Oct 85 pp 217-221

[Text] People's Korea on Road to Socialism

V.I. Andreyev, V.I. Osipov

This article emphasizes that the path traversed by the People's Korea for 40 years passed from the time of its liberation convincingly testifies to the huge vitality of socialism. The authors describe in detail multiform Soviet-Korean ties. The achievements of Korean people grow out of creative activities of the working masses of the country, of the large work of organization on the part of its vanguard--the Labor Party of Korea, of the close unity of the Korean People's Democratic Republic with the USSR and other socialist countries.

Role of State in Capitalist Transformation of Colonial Socio-Economic Structure (with special reference to Independent India)

O.V. Malyarov

The state capitalism, an important factor in establishing capitalist formation, has much greater role to play in the newly independent states of Asia, Africa and Latin America, even within the same capitalist direction of evolution.

This is mainly due to the specific nature of the colonial socio-economic structure. The latter contained additional formidable impediments to its capital transformation and deforming the market mechanism made it rather a conservative than transforming force. The resultant much greater lag in development, which with the emergence of the national capital, becomes the major socio-economic problem for the further growth of the latter, is yet another factor enhancing the economic role of the state. This is also facilitated by the profound changes in the world economy, by the experience of the state participation in the economy gained by the socialist as well as capitalist countries.

All this gave particular prominence to such functions of the state as supplementing deficiency in capital formation on private account and

regulating spheres and relations between different groups of private capital in the overall interest of the national bourgeoisie, as a whole.

The socio-economic activity of the state manifested itself in the growth of the state sector and in manifold regulation of the private sector.

The first was mainly concentrated in those areas which the private sector was unable or unwilling to take. The support provided by the state to the process of capital formation in the private capitalist sector and concessions and incentives to corresponding social groups imposed growing limitations on the growth of the state sector.

The various methods of the state regulation of the private sector, such as administrative regulation of the spheres of its constituents, regulation of norms of production, regulation of money and commodities' markets, served more or less the same common socio-economic aims through restraining counteractive free play of market forces and influencing them in desired direction. The main drive of this regulation was to push and to pull the private capital in the productive capital formation, restricting at the same time its non-productive application, semi-feudal and colonial survivals. Within this framework of general policy the state supported national capital in its competition and collaboration with the foreign capital, provided special support to small capital to facilitate the growth of capitalism "from below" and to broaden economic and social base of the national capitalist development.

At the same time, the aid provided by the state to pre-capitalist small independent producers, particularly to the rural and urban poor, in real dimensions was rather limited and very often did not percolate to the target groups, which in the last analysis, aggravates the contradictions of the capitalist way of development.

Japanese Paternalism: Transformation of Economic Foundations

L.P. Arskaya

The article probes into the complex of economic measures designed to affect the consciousness of workers and customarily referred to as paternalism. The Japanese paternalism is a peculiar phenomenon. Both the system of wages taking into account how many years he has been employed by a certain enterprise and the system of social benefits and bonuses paid by an enterprise induce the worker to stick to one employer all his life.

This practice provides an ample opportunity to affect the worker's mind, encourage the cooperation between labor and capital, and impose the idea of "faithfulness to the corporation."

The article demonstrates that the occurring technological and economic changes and the struggle of the working class have in many ways undermined the economic foundations of the Japanese paternalism and its psychological superstructure. Although by and large employers had to abandon many elements

of the former practice, they did their best to impede the introduction of changes and tried to keep up the advantages it provided.

The capital tried to supersede the old dependence by a new one. At times, it resorted to the workers' demands of the most modern type, such as "management participation" and the right to creative labour.

The article reaches the conclusion that the working class organizations adhering to the class struggle have to take much pains to fathom the new tactics and bring home to the workers the need to oppose it.

Nigeria: Some Features of Political Culture and Political Process

Ye. A. Glushchenko

The emergence of Afro-Asian states in the arena of world politics and their ever enhancing political role drew attention to their political culture. Historians and sociologists undertook studies of the political process in these countries to obtain a deeper insight into their politics and interpret profound political changes of the post-colonial period.

The article examines elements of the political culture and political process of Nigeria. The latter for reasons of its diverse and vast population, great economic potential and the political role played in African affairs offers a wealth of material for the study of the discussed problem.

Being a descriptive article, it gives an idea of traditional political systems of some Nigerian ethnoses. It also discusses such elements of the political culture as knowledgeability of inhabitants, their attitude to traditional rulers and newly established bodies of power, their mobilized participation in the political process and the participation of pressure groups in it. The article touches upon ethnocentrism, regionalism and clientalism in politics. It analyses in greater detail political corruption, a social scourge of developing countries. The article also goes into the attitude of the ruling circles to the institution of legal opposition, as a component part of a competitive parliamentarism unknown to the traditional political systems of Africa. It is in this regard that the article investigates into the authoritarian trend which became pronounced in the Nigerian politics ever since the years following the attainment of independence. The remainder of the article supplies information concerning the government policy to educate population in matters of political culture.

The article reaches the conclusion that the Nigerian political culture, including all its versions, is in the process of active formation. The political experience of the colonial society has been imposed upon traditional systems. This brought about a certain synthesis. New types of political culture emerged, their distinctive features being shaped by the traditional subground. Once again a new synthesis took place: the imposition of the West European parliamentary model and, in addition to all this, the establishment of military regimes with their authoritarian rule. These impositions, however, do not hide the subground which transpires through all the layers.

Most of these problems and phenomena are known to Soviet African scholars. It is, however, for the first time that they are gathered and comprehensively investigated. As for Nigeria, the article represents a first attempt to analyze its political culture.

Traditional Literature, Neo-Traditionalism, Traditionalism

V. I. Braginsky, V. S. Sementsov

The article examines the problem of traditionalism in modern literatures of the East. To identify characteristic features of the traditionalist literature the latter is compared to the traditional literature proper (of the medieval type) and to the literature of today (of a new kind). The article offers a two-dimensional model of the traditional literature. On the synchronous plane, the traditional literature constitutes a system of writings functioning within the society. These writings are "correctly" related to the texts of the religious canon. This system is based on the principles of integrity, hierarchy, functionality, which determine the position of various genres on different levels and their poetics. On the diachronous plane, the traditional literature is a system of texts ensuring a "correct" translation of a certain type of personality. The latter dates back to the personality, which had established the tradition (Buddha, Muhammad, Confucian, etc.), and is transferred further through a chain of teachers entering into a special kind of relations with their disciples ("spiritual birth").

As compared to the traditional literature, the traditionalist one does not come into existence through such a kind of translation. It does not emerge until after the traditional literature undergoes a profound transformation, falls into decay, having encountered the Western literature of a new kind. The latter is fundamentally non-traditional, innovation-oriented, with an accent on individuality and pluralism. Being a response to this process, the traditionalism in literature represents an attempt to return to the newly overestimated principles of the traditional literature. For various reasons, which the article discusses, instead of re-establishing the traditional literature it turns out to be a "hybrid culture", which emerges where the Westernized consciousness and the forms of the traditional literature meet, i.e., as an image of the traditional literature in the mirror of the non-traditional consciousness.

The analysis of traditional oriental cultures allows today to interpret their heritage as a broad spectrum of traditions. Traditionally-minded men of letters, searching for national identity and "spiritual decolonization," as a rule learn about this spectrum from Western studies. Hence, they were offered an opportunity of an individual choice and are able to combine its component parts. Counter to their declaration of adhering to the genuine spirit of a certain culture by combining various traditions, they express their own individual outlook. The latter, normally, bears an imprint of the philosophical and esthetic teachings of the West. The early forms of traditionalism (the late 19th century to the first half of the 20th century) were marked by the synthesis of traditional and romantic esthetics. The inclusion into the synthesis of existentialist elements was typical of the developed forms of traditionalism (from the 1950s onward).

Hence, the traditionalism in literature is a complex, controversial and many-sided phenomenon. Depending on traditions, which the writer resorts to, the nature of their combination and their interpretation and reinterpretation, the synthesis with these or other Western conceptions, the traditionalist orientation can play both a progressive and a reactionary role.

Popular Culture in Countries of Tropical Africa

L.E. Gankin

The specific cultural and historical context of the African development accounts for the fact that "serious literature" and "high arts" of the educated African elite are confined to a limited contingent of people. The reason for this lies in the large gap in the educational and cultural standards of intellectuals and their co-citizens who adhered or are still adhering to tribal traditions. Getting integrated into the formation process of new social relations these traditions are to adapt themselves within a short space of time to new conditions. The popular culture taking the place of folklore and assuming its social and esthetic functions promotes this process in its own way.

The article grapples with the emergence and development trends of the African popular culture. The analysis of various kinds of popular literature demonstrates that African popular culture represents a complex of phenomena belonging to different historical stages of cultural development. The "cultural output" multiplied by mass media includes cheap local print produced by mass artistic creation. It is of general appeal. To this phenomenon belongs also the popular literature created by intellectuals for the people (entertaining magazines, popular novels, etc. for the Westernized section of the African society).

The popular culture of Tropical Africa is devoid of any concrete ideological content. It is an arena of struggle of various political and cultural trends. It may be used for propaganda and business purposes and serve the cause of education and enlightenment of masses at large.

Towards Early History of Sakas of East Turkestan

B.A. Litvinsky, M.N. Pogrebova, D.S. Rayevsky

The discovery in the early 20th century of numerous texts in the East Turkestan dating back to the second half of the first millennium A. D. and written in various languages of the so-called Saka group raised a number of questions regarding the ethnic history of the region. It was established in the course of the linguistic analysis that the languages of the discovered texts belonged to the Iranian group and were closely related to the languages of the Scythian world. In other words, these were the languages the tribes, which in the first millennium B. C. inhabited the steppes of Eurasia and the bordering areas of the Central Asia. Apparently, it was from these areas that the Sakas came to the East Turkestan. But we know neither when and how, nor which tribes of the Scythian world took part in this exodus. The archeology

is yet to give its say. Until recently we have been in possession of fragmented and casual objects of this period gathered in the East Turkestan by various expeditions (A. Stein, S. F. Oldenburg, S. Hedin). These data, undoubtedly, include things of the "Scythian" image. They have not been classified, however, and do not allow for a detailed reconstruction of the ethnic and cultural ties between the East Turkestan and the steppes of Eurasia. The recent Chinese archaeological expeditions and their finds in the cemeteries of the first millennium B. C. have substantially augmented the available data. The latest discoveries permit to undertake such a reconstruction.

Some objects coming from the East Turkestan (bronze spears, arrows, elements of harness) give evidence of the ties between this region and the steppes of Eurasia as early as the end of the second and the beginning of the first millennium B. C. Two cemeteries supply the most trustworthy data confirming the coming here of the Saka tribes. The Tashkurgan cemetery located in the eastern slopes of the Pamirs, in the basin of one of the left tributaries of the Upper Yarkand, is especially close in terms of tombs and implements to the Saka cemeteries investigated by Soviet archeologists in the Pamirs. This comparison allows to suggest that it was here that the route has been established which the Sakas used to come to the East Turkestan not later than the middle of the first millennium B. C. The Alagun cemetery in Turfan, in particular, resembles in many ways the monuments of the Saka period of the Altai Mountain and the Semirechye (the Seven Rivers Region). The discovery here of the monuments of the Eurasian animal style (the first of this kind to be found in the East Turkestan) is of special significance. This allows to ascertain at least two groups of the Saka tribes, which took part in the discussed migration. Apparently, the mention of the "Chatae Scythians" in the Ptolemy's "Geograph. I, 15, 3) bears relation to these tribes. The region they inhabited may be attributed to the East Turkestan. The name of this people is identified with the term "hvatana," the self-name of the carriers of the Khotan Saka language. The toponym Khotan is also derived from this term. The analysis of the available data allows to trace some landmarks in the history of the Iranian tribes, which inhabited the East Turkestan in the first millennium B. C., to the first half of the first millennium A. D., i.e., during one thousand five hundred years preceding the period to which belong the written monuments of the Sakas.

Evolution of Positions of Indian Bourgeois Parties

E.N. Komarov

The manifestos of 15 national (all India) parties in five parliamentary elections from 1962 to 1980 were analyzed to obtain following indices presented in tables and charts.

1) The index of orientation toward or opposition to socio-economic transformation and social progress in general of the given party as declared in its manifesto for a given election. This index was obtained by expert evaluation in positive and negative scores of the relative significance of parties' positions on 81 more or less concrete economic, social and political issues (or measures) for socio-economic transformation and progress. The

index thus obtained provides for a quantified assessment of the evolution of positions of political parties. It also quantitatively reveals two distinct groups of non-communist parties defined here as reformist and conservative ones and it shows a basic difference between the communists and all other parties under review.

2) The indices of "Aim-Declaring", "Criticalness" and "Orientation of Appeal" were obtained by calculating frequencies of occurrence respectively of certain positive and negative socio-political notions and of references to various social classes, sections and groups.

The reformist orientation of the positions of the dominant Indian National Congress party especially on issues connected with property relations first showed a steep climb (peak in 1971 elections) then abated. However on some important issues this party was in 1980 ahead of other non-communist parties. There was also a marked shrinkage (by two times in qualified assessment) in the differences between the reformist and the conservative parties by the end of the period. This evolution shows in its way that in the course of bourgeois transformation of the society inherited from the colonial-feudal past bourgeois reformism first developed a socio-transforming role which makes it comparable to a certain extent with the bourgeois revolutionarism of the past, and then it became increasingly moderate, while conservatism grew more modern and bourgeois in its nature as well as increasingly demagogic.

The analysis of frequencies of occurrence showed a marked increase of references to the poor (masses, working people, etc.) in general and to the rural poor (poor peasants, agricultural workers, harijans) in particular. This reflects in its way the awakening and activization of the most exploited and traditionally depressed sections of the working people. It is an important achievement of independent national development.

Advaita and Purva-Mimansa. Sankara's Commentary on Fourth Sutra of Badarayana

The publication is a sequel to the Russian translation of the first sutra of Brahma-sutra-Bhasya by Sankara (the 8th century A.D.) (see: NARODI AZII I AFRIKI, 1983, No. 4). The fourth sutra deals with the Advaitist's polemics with the adherents of Purva-Mimansa concerning the attitude towards sacred scripture (sruti). The text of the sutra is accompanied by an introduction of the translator and a short commentary.

It is suggested in the introduction that the difference of the Advaita and Mimansa approaches to Vedic revelation, manifested in orientation on its different portions, was rooted in their respective views on the nature and functions of the language. While the followers of Mimansa (namely, Sabara and Kumarila) ascribed the greatest significance to the passage of scripture dealing with direct injunctions and prohibitions (vidhi), Sankara was interested mainly in the so-called "explanatory sayings" (arthavada) which often contain metaphors, parables, symbolic expressions, etc. In the Mimansa tradition injunctions (usually related to ritual practice) constitute a link between an ordinary person and his prospective aim, i.e., the attainment of the highest bliss most often identified with "heaven" (svarga). One may be justified to say that, to some extent, vidhis function impersonally

automatically staging necessary actions to ensure the stability of the universe. They compel adepts to action through a certain "energy of becoming" (bhavana) inherent in their very phonetic, syntactic and semantic structure. Though in some aspects the Mimamsakas (and first of all Kumarilla) approached rather closely the notion of eternity of Veda and words in general (sabdannityata), somewhat resembling the sphota theory of Bhartrhari, they would never accept the latter's concept of the highest entity placed over and above the phenomenal world. Simultaneously, the language of Mimansa was shaped after rigid forms of vidhi, so that attention was paid mainly to the simple correspondence between the word and its denotation.

In contrast to this, it is the thinking by analogies that plays a central part in Advaita. Sankara never considered Vedic sayings to be a sort of an auxiliary instrument designed to bring an immature and dependent adept to perform necessary action. In his opinion, all sruti sayings form an integrated and organic whole. The most significant of them are "useless" and devoid of any pragmatic meaning. They only help to change the angle of consideration, focusing attention on atman. Such an angle-shifting presupposes a different notion of the language and gives priority not to its descriptive function but to the evocative one.

In the introduction to the publication of the first fragment attention has already been drawn to the apophatic function of the language as regards the highest Brahman devoid of attributes (nirguna). The present article deals mainly with the cataphatic part by poetic language during the adept's gradual ascending to Saguna-Brahman, or Isvara. The latter enjoys a lower status than Nirguna-Brahman and is considered to be the creator of the world. The beginning of this way calls for inserting of an intermediary link between the creator and the living soul (jiva). Unlike the situation where direct relations are out of the question (which is true for jiva and Nirguna-Brahman), there is an ontological possibility of inter-connection of principally commensurable atmans, both obscured by the veiling power of avidya. Isvara creates a hierarchy of being resembling a kind of subsequent steps leading to liberation, while the merit and even duty of an adept is to meet these attentions half-way, creating a sort of poetic analogy of being (cf. some notions of Thomas Aquinas) in order to produce a brilliant and striking likeness to the Isvara's play (lila) of creation.

Translation from the Sanskrit, Introduction and Commentary by N. V. Isayeva

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NORTH KOREAN DOMESTIC PROGRESS, INTERNATIONAL PRESTIGE NOTED

Moscow NARODY AZII I AFRIKI in Russian No 5, Sep-Oct 85 (signed to press 10 Sep 85) pp 3-8

[Article by V. I. Andreyev and V. I. Osipov: "People's Korea on the Socialist Path"]

[Excerpts] The conditions for the victory of the people's democratic revolution in North Korea and the country's development along the Socialist path were created by the defeat of the Japanese militarists in August 1945 by the Soviet Army. Korean patriots fought with weapons in hand for the liberation of their homeland. In the northern part of the country the Soviet command helped the population to organize democratic self-management and took urgent steps to normalize the conditions of its life and to restore the economy which was destroyed by the Japanese colonizers.

Another situation took place in South Korea, where the U. S. Army landed only six days after Japan signed its capitulation document. The American military administration from the outset began to hamper the people's movement for the independent and democratic development of the country, which was widely developing in the south, as in the north. In local areas the Japanese colonial apparatus was retained and the laws introduced by Japanese colonizers were virtually left in force. The occupation of South Korea by U. S. forces began the country's prolonged division. Thus, after the liberation, along with solving tremendous tasks of restoring the economy and eliminating its one-sided colonial nature and solving other social and political problems, the Korean people also had to struggle for the peaceful democratic unification of the country and the withdrawal of American forces located in South Korea.

In North Korea, under the leadership of the Communist Party, created in October 1945, fundamental democratic transformations were carried out quickly and radically: a land reform was implemented. Land which had belonged to Japanese colonizers and national exploiters was distributed free of charge among landless and land poor peasants and farm laborers. Industry, transport, the banks and means of communication were nationalized. An eight-hour work day for all workers and employees was established. Exploitation of the work force was prohibited and a social security system for workers was introduced. Women in North Korea obtained equal rights with men in political, economic and cultural life. By early 1947 an anti-imperialist, anti-feudal, democratic

revolution was completed in North Korea and the country had embarked upon the path of gradual transition to Socialism.

The American military administration, meanwhile, concentrated on legally consolidating the division of Korea. In May 1948 separate "elections" were held in South Korea in an environment of the fiercest terror. The so-called Republic of Korea was formed south of the 38th Parallel on territory occupied by the U. S.

The separate elections held in the south could not, however, suppress the desire of the Korean people to live as a single family. In August 1948, at the will of the peoples of North and South Korea, elections were held for an all-Korean supreme governing organ -- the Supreme People's Assembly (VNS). In South Korea they were held illegally, under conditions of persecutions from the American military administration and village authorities. On 9 September, at the first VNS session, held in Pyongyang, creation of the Korean People's Democratic Republic [KNDR] was proclaimed. The VNS adopted the KNDR constitution and formed a government headed by Kim Il-Song. The proclamation of the KNDR and the adoption of the country's first constitution were the result of the selfless struggle of the Korean laboring masses, which were led by the Communists and relied on the international assistance of the Soviet Union and all international revolutionary forces. At the same time, the formation of People's Korea was of international importance, since it strengthened the forces of world Socialism. The USSR was first to recognize the KNDR and establish diplomatic relations with her in October 1948. "With the creation of the Korean People's Democratic Republic," noted Kim Il-Song, "the Korean people acquired a still more powerful weapon to implement consistently the great cause of Socialism and Communism in Korea."¹

Relying on assistance from the Soviet Union, the Korean people achieved tangible successes in the first years following their liberation. However, their peaceful creative labor was disrupted by war thrust upon the KNDR in 1950-1953 by American imperialism and South Korean reaction. Not only the democratic accomplishments of the Korean people, but also the very existence of the young people's democratic state were threatened. Loyal to the principles of proletarian internationalism, the Soviet Union came to the assistance of the fraternal people in their just struggle. Along with political and diplomatic support the Soviet people provided People's Korea a great deal of assistance, weapons, ammunition, industrial equipment, food, medicines and essential goods. The rich military experience of our armed forces was provided to the Korean People's Army. Soviet military advisors were located in KNA units. Soviet air divisions, which covered the rear of units of Chinese people's volunteers who participated directly in the military operations, were located in Manchuria. Soviet hospitals were deployed in the rear for wounded military personnel and the suffering peaceful population.

The war of 1950-1953 greatly harmed the KNDR economy. In 1953 gross industrial output declined by comparison to the pre-war 1949 level by 36 percent. Agricultural production declined 24 percent and national income fell 30 percent.² The country was again forced to restore the economy and stabilize the life of the workers.

The second period of restoration differed fundamentally from the former period (1946-1949), in that the Korean Labor Party set as its task not only achieving the former level of production, but also rebuilding the economy, ridding it of its one-sided colonial nature and shifting it completely to Socialist organization. A policy was undertaken of Socialist industrialization by placing priority development on heavy industry with simultaneous increased production in light industry and agriculture. As a result of the fulfillment of the 3-year plan for restoration and development of the economy (1953-1956) and the 5-year plan (1957-1961), which was accomplished in 4 years, the KNDR was turned from a one-time backward semi-feudal, colonial country into a Socialist industrial-agrarian state with a stable national economic base. The mobilization of internal forces and resources in this period was supplemented by economic assistance from the Socialist countries.³

During these years Socialist transformations in all sectors of public life were completed. By the end of 1958 a cooperative peasantry was completely established and private industry and trade were eliminated. This led to the undivided domination of Socialist production relations in city and village. As a result of the transformations Socialism was confirmed in Korea.

The 4th Korean Labor Party [TPK] Congress (1961), which noted that the foundations of Socialism had been constructed in the KNDR, adopted a 7-year plan for development of the economy for 1961-1967, which set the task of expanding the construction of the material-technical base of Socialism. Fulfillment of the 7-year plan, however, met with great difficulties. As a result of the serious exacerbation of the situation on the Korean peninsula, resulting from the intrigues of imperialist forces and the coming to power in South Korea of the militarist Pak Chong-Ki clique, it was recognized as expedient to adjust the initial socio-economic plans and devote more attention to defense issues. This policy involved significant structural changes in capital investments, which were expressed in a sharp reduction of the share of state allocations to light industry, owing to the priority growth of heavy industrial branches. The results of the five-year plan were summarized at the 5th TPK Congress in 1970. The KNDR had become a Socialist industrial state with a modern industry and developed agriculture. The 1970's-1980's were for People's Korea the years of accomplishing the six-year (1971-1976) and seven-year (1978-1984) economic development plans.

The achievements of the Korean people in agricultural and cultural construction to a significant degree ensured the increased authority of Socialist Korea on the world arena. Attempts by international reaction to isolate People's Korea from world society and to ignore the realities which existed on the Korean peninsula failed. In the early 1970's the republic had diplomatic relations with 37 countries and now it has relations with more than 100 Socialist, developing and capitalist states, including some countries which previously recognized only South Korea. Moreover, in five capitalist states the KNDR has trade representation. The republic is represented in more than 150 international governmental and non-governmental organizations, including UNESCO, VOZ [World Health Organization], the World Postal Union, UNSTAD [United Nations Conference of Trade and Development], the inter-parliamentary alliance, MAGATE [International Atomic Energy Agency] and has permanent observers at the UN.¹²

The foreign policy of the KNDR as a Socialist state in general coincides with the general policy of the fraternal Socialist countries in international affairs. But, at the same time, it has its own specific features, caused by the division of Korea and the existence south of the 38th parallel of the reactionary Seoul regime, supported by the U. S., and the ensuing tasks of uniting the country on a peaceful democratic basis, without interference from outside.¹³ Throughout the existence of the KNDR, the TPK and the government of the republic appealed many times to South Korean authorities with specific proposals aimed at the peaceful democratic unification of the country. The KNDR proposes the urgent discussion of questions concerning concluding a Korean-American peace treaty, to replace the cease fire agreed upon in 1953, which would legally end the Korean War. The TPK has also proposed that American forces withdraw from South Korea, that a non-aggression declaration be adopted between North and South Korea, and that the state of military confrontation on the Korean peninsula be eliminated. After an agreement is achieved on these questions it is possible also to decide the question of uniting Korea, by creating a Democratic Confederated Republic of Korea, and the convening of an all-national conference for this purpose.¹⁴

The KNDR believes that the struggle for peace and security is the main means of improving the tense situation which has taken shape in the world arena through the fault of imperialist circles. The KNDR favors halting the production, testing, stockpiling and use of nuclear weapons, and is for destroying all of their reserves and the creation everywhere of nuclear free zones. Attempts being made by American imperialism to aggravate still further the situation in Asia and the Pacific Ocean area; to knock together a Washington - Tokyo - Seoul military alliance in the Far East, aimed against the Socialist countries; and U. S. plans to deploy in the south of the Korean peninsula Pershing II intermediate range missiles, cruise missiles and neutron weapons, in addition to the American nuclear capability already in existence there, cause well justified concern on the part of the KNDR.

The development of friendly relations with Socialist countries, all-round expansion of mutual cooperation in solving economic tasks, and joint struggle against imperialism, and to defend peace and the peaceful democratic unification of Korea, are at the center of the foreign policy activity of the TPK and the KNDR government.

The Socialist countries are the main economic partners of the KNDR. Approximately half of the republic's foreign trade exchange is with them. It imports machines and equipment, means of transport, solid and liquid fuel and consumer goods from the Socialist countries, and delivers to them its traditional export goods. There is at the present time not a single branch of industry in which one or another Socialist country does not participate in its development, modernization and technical equipping.¹⁵ NODON SINMUN, organ of the TPK Central Committee, notes that "economic and technological cooperation with the Socialist countries in various branches has made an important contribution to developing the national economy and to creating the material and technological base of Socialism."¹⁶

Soviet-Korean relations are an example of unselfish cooperation and mutual assistance, and are built immutably on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, respect for sovereignty, territorial integrity, and noninterference in the internal affairs of one another. The Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance between the USSR and KNDR, signed on 6 July 1961 in Moscow, is the document which defines the whole system of Soviet-Korean relations. In accordance with this document, the USSR and KNDR pledged to "consult one another on all important issues which effect the interest of both states, guided by a desire to contribute to strengthening peace and universal security," as well as "to participate in all international actions, having the objective of ensuring peace and security in the Far East and throughout the world."¹⁷

The friendly official visit to Moscow of a KNDR party and state delegation headed by Kim Il-Song, TPK Central Committee general secretary and KNDR president, held on 23-25 May 1984, was of great importance for the successful development of relations between the USSR and KNDR. The CPSU Central Committee Politburo, having discussed and approved the results of negotiations between the Soviet leaders and the Korean delegates, expressed confidence that this visit will serve to expand further the contacts between the two parties and countries, on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and Socialist internationalism, and the struggle of the peoples to ensure security in the Far East and throughout the world.¹⁸ The July 1984 TPK Central Committee plenum also assessed highly the visit of the KNDR delegation to the USSR, and emphasized that it was "a historic landmark in strengthening and developing traditional Korean-Soviet friendship on a new and higher level."¹⁹

Talks held by M. S. Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary and A. A. Gromyko, Central Committee Politburo member and then first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and Minister of Foreign Affairs, with Kim Yong-Nam, TPK Central Committee Politburo member, deputy premier of the Administrative Council and KNDR Minister of Foreign Affairs, held in April 1985 in Moscow helped strengthen the friendly relations between the USSR and the KNDR and the CPSU and TPK. As it was noted in the communique devoted to the results of the meeting, the Soviet side gave a high assessment to KNDR efforts to preserve peace on the Korean peninsula, and supported the proposal about the creation of a Democratic Confederated Republic of Korea and the conclusion of an agreement on nonaggression between the north and south. The Soviet leaders condemned the maneuvers by South Korean reaction and the U. S. administration, aimed at the creation of "two Koreas," and American interference in the internal affairs of Korea. The USSR and KNDR again demanded that the U. S. refrain from military provocations against the KNDR and remove its forces from South Korea. The parties confirmed their loyalty to the Soviet-Korean treaty of 1961 and their resolve to follow firmly the commitments arising from it.²⁰

The ceremonial celebration in the KNDR of the 40th Anniversary of the liberation of Korea by the Soviet Army from the Japanese colonial yoke, became a new and vivid manifestation of Soviet-Korean friendship. Participants in these events emphasized the role of the Soviet Union in establishing the Korean Socialist state and the great importance of the development of friendly relations between Korea and the USSR.

The path traversed by People's Korea in the 40 years following its liberation is a convincing indication of the tremendous vital force of Socialism. The achievements of the Korean people are the result of the creative activity of the laboring mass of the country, the great organizational work of its vanguard -- the Korean Labor Party -- and of the close unity of the KNDR with the Soviet Union and the other fraternal Socialist countries.

FOOTNOTES

1. Kim Il-song, "Selected Works," Vol 5, Pyong yang, 1972, p 157.
2. "Development of the KNDR Economy and Culture in 1946-1957. Statistical Collection," Pyong yang, 1958, p 35.
3. See: "PROBLEMY DALNEGO VOSTOKA," 1980, No 3, p 7b.
12. See: "PROBLEMY DALNEGO VOSTOKA," 1981, No 1, pp 46-47.
13. Kim Il-song, "TPK Central Committee Report to the 6th Party Congress," pp 114-115.
14. PODON SINMUN, 11 Jan 84.
15. "Promyshlennost KNDR," [KNDR Industry], Moscow, 1977, p 119.
16. PODON SINMUN, 7 Jul 84.
17. "Otnosheniya Sovetskogo Soyuz a Narodnoy Koreyey. 1945-1980. Dokumenty i materialy" [Relations of the Soviet Union With People's Korea. 1945-1980. Documents and Materials], Moscow, 1981, pp 196-197.
18. PRAVDA, 1 Jun 84.
19. NODON SINMUN, 7 May 84.
20. PRAVDA, 19 Apr 85.

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BEGINNINGS OF CLASS CONSCIOUSNESS SEEN IN RURAL BANGLADESH

Moscow NARODY AZII I AFRIKI in Russian No 5, Sep-Oct 85 pp 94-100

[Article by A. M. Shcheglova: "Social Struggle in Rural Bangladesh (Late 1970's-Early 1980's)"]

[Excerpts] Workers in the Bangladesh village at the present stage of its socio-economic evolution are confronted with many problems, caused both by the continuing existence of pre-Capitalist forms of production relations, and by differentiation of the peasantry as a result of the formation of a Capitalist structure in the agrarian sector.

The high portion of impoverished masses, with the absence of alternative sources of employment and income in the nonagricultural sphere, creates prerequisites for the ripening of acute social tension in the village. Frequent instances of seizing state lands, unauthorized fishing, boycotting of markets, etc., are indicative of growing dissatisfaction. Social tension is expressed in flashes of spontaneous and semi-organized banditism. The bandits not only plunder, but also require the peasants to pay them tribute. At times village residents are forced to seek refuge in the cities.

Just the same, it should be noted that the social activeness of the peasants and especially of agricultural workers does not fully correspond to the high level of social tension, for along with the reasons which caused it to increase, there are also restraining factors. The socio-psychological factor plays an important role in this respect. Impressions of the village as a single family, about the need to observe ancient norms of social life and to obediently accept the decisions of the village "fathers" still continue to dominate in the creation of village poverty. Agricultural workers and semi-proletarians still do not understand the changes in their class position and the contradiction between their own interests and those of the village bosses. Rural society retains elements of an organization based on patronage. The village is divided into traditional social communities which are built on kinship (bari, samadzh and goshmi) and social control institutions (mammobori, sardari and salish) and fulfills functions of regulating the social behavior of members of these societies.⁵

The integration of rural poverty into nonclass communities helps preserve in its consciousness impressions about the unity of economic and political

interests of all members of the community and of the need for clan or community solidarity, and hampers consolidation of groups with similar socio-economic status into modern classes. The breaking down of traditional social communities and institutions is also restrained by the crisis state of the agrarian economy and of the overall national economy. Ideological campaigns carried out by the authorities serve to propagandize social harmony. Mobilization of the economy for social work within the framework of the program for the development of rural regions is accompanied by calls for joint, unpaid labor to eliminate poverty. Idealized impressions are sown about the nature and functions of the rural community and about the need to restore among rural residents a "spirit of mutual assistance and cooperation."

The involvement of poor village residents in intra-village conflicts, engendered by competition among the leadership of rural clans in the struggle for power and influence in rural society, interferes with the development of social struggle on a class basis in the village. Such conflicts arise concerning land distribution, payments for rights to markets and reservoirs, access to agricultural equipment, fertilizers and credit, etc., and take the form of various sanctions against the rival -- instituting legal investigations of false accusations, and at times even physical reprisals.⁶ These conflicts are massive and continuous, and become worse during the period of elections for local organs of government. Intra-class conflicts take place in the form of clashes of groups in which membership is based either on kinship or economic dependence. The exploited layers of the village also end up drawn into hostile intra-village parties. Individual groups of poor peasants, village semi-proletarian and agricultural workers are set against one another, which prevents them from comprehending their common class interests.

Although the predominant type of social struggle in the village continues to be conflicts within the village elite, in recent years the beginnings of inter-class antagonisms are also appearing. Conflicts of an inter-class nature are thus far sporadic and do not form any kind of mature agrarian movement. But nevertheless, exacerbation of the agrarian crisis is gradually leading to a situation in which the social struggle of the peasants and proletarian groups in the village is picking up momentum and acquiring ever clearer outlines.

At present the village is experiencing a situation when there are contradictions of two types of origin which are coinciding in time: those caused by the retention of past phenomena in production relations and the conservation of traditional forms and institutions, and those engendered by the developing process of differentiation of the peasantry. The differences which this causes in the demands and social composition of the forces participating in the struggle makes it possible to divide conditionally inter-class conflicts into two streams. The first is an overall peasant stream of struggle to eliminate remnants of feudalism and create favorable conditions for the development of small-scale and capitalist structures in the rural economy; the second is pre-proletarian, aimed at reducing exploitation and improving working relations. The middle peasantry, which is supported by the poor peasants and proletarianized groups, and in a number of cases also by the well-to-do bosses are mainly involved in the first stream. During the course

of overall peasant actions demands are advanced to eliminate surviving forms of exploitation and to change the state's agrarian policy.

The struggle for direct economic needs -- the most developed thrust in the social movement of the Bangladesh peasantry -- includes a struggle for fair prices for agricultural products; improved living conditions; easier access to organized credit; improved agro-technical resources and reduced prices for them, as well as against corruption and machinations in institutions in charge of the development of rural regions and their supply with material resources. These problems touch the interests of virtually all agricultural strata. Therefore, the struggle to improve the conditions for production and sale of products has the most massive social base in the village.

Spontaneous peasant actions usually begin with stating demands for better conditions for the production and sale of products. To the extent that peasant union activists are involved in the peasants' struggle, anti-feudal demands are added -- demands to eliminate surviving forms of land ownership and land use; prohibiting absenteeism; limiting the agricultural property of religious institutions; and banning kabala forms of rent. Demands are also advanced about securing legislative protection for the rights of tenants and for regulating the distribution of crops between tenants and landowners. The advancement of demands pertaining to the land by the peasants is associated with the fact that almost half of agricultural property is involved in rent relationships, with serious share cropper rent conditions. It is noteworthy that it is not the large land owners who cause the dissatisfaction of the poor peasants, but the increased land holdings of absentee owners from the army and bureaucracy and illegal seizure of state lands by wealthy peasants [kulachestvo], which are then rented out to share croppers.

Actions of small land-holding peasants are the most developed stream of the social struggle in the Bangladesh village. A pre-proletarian stream is in the stage of development. Agricultural workers take part in peasant disturbances, act in support of purely peasant demands and seek to ensure access to the land -- a further reduction of the private land-holding ceiling with subsequent transfer of surpluses to landless and small land holding homesteads, and allotment of vacant state and privately owned lands to the agricultural workers' cooperatives. The existence of demands for land in the actions of poor peasants is indicative of the retention of peasant value orientations in the consciousness of rural proletarians and semi-proletarians.

The pre-proletarian stream of the social struggle in the Bangladesh village is represented by two more types of actions. They are distinguished by the fact that in them proletarian slogans are advanced, which concern rent conditions and public works programs. The majority of these actions are organized by the peasant unions. These include demands for providing steady employment (by expanding public works programs, developing cottage industry, etc.); legislative establishment of a guaranteed minimum wage; limiting the length of the work day; benefits payments (for unemployment, injuries, pensions, etc.); and guaranteed supply of food by ration cards. An independent group of demands are forming for the struggle against corruption and machinations in land distribution; registration of landless peasant homesteads; and payment of wages during implementation of public works programs. The advancement of

proletarian demands by poor peasants is, therefore, not so much the product of recognition by village proletarians of their real economic situation and class interest, as it is the result of the organizational work of peasant unions.

As a rule, the actions by small property holding peasants and agricultural workers are spontaneous, passive and exclusively economic in nature. Their demands reflect solely the direct needs of those taking actions. The actions are of short duration. They flare up quickly and, failing to obtain support of the peasant unions, come to nothing, not having achieved tangible successes. Organizational weakness and disconnection and exclusivity in direct economic needs cause many actions to be local in nature. The demonstrators avoid open manifestation of hatred toward the exploiters, especially if they are represented by traditional village leaders. Usually the actions express dissatisfaction with unfairness in general and do not protest against exploitation by village bosses.¹⁴

The activity of village unions is directed at overcoming weak aspects of peasant actions and developing an agrarian movement of poor peasants. However, at present the organizational activity of these unions and of progressive political parties is weakly linked to the actions of peasants and the agricultural proletariat, which remain primarily spontaneous. In the early 1980's there were more than 10 peasant unions in the country, the majority of which act under the leadership of the progressive parties. These include the Peasant Union and the Union of Agricultural Workers of the Communist Party of Bangladesh; the National Peasant Union of the National People's Party; the Union for Peasant Liberation of the Workers' Party; the National Peasant League of the National Socialist Party, and others. Ties of the peasant organizations with the village remain impermanent and sporadic. Increased organizational and propaganda activity by parties and peasant unions is observed primarily in periods of election campaigns or of the largest peasant uprisings. The majority of the unions themselves are thus far in the stage of organizational formation, are extremely undermanned, and lack a far-flung network of primary organizations in rural areas. Their popularity among the peasant masses is still insufficient.

The work of the progressive parties in the village is complicated by an unfavorable internal political environment. Frequent limitations on political activity and repressions against leftist forces limit party ties among the peasants and the opportunity to organize agrarian movements.

This program considers equally the economic interests of the small land holding peasants and the pre-proletarian strata in the villages. The working out of a single platform for developing a national peasant movement represents a positive step in the activity of the peasant unions. It is all the more important in that it was worked out in an environment of existing disagreements among left wing political parties (and correspondingly their peasant organizations), who assess differently the essence of the present stage of socio-economic development of the country's agrarian sector and the substance of the main contradiction and arrangement of class forces in the village, under conditions of factionalism and rivalry among political leaders.

The desire for cooperation noted among peasant unions is creating conditions for a more active organization of national agrarian movements. This factor, in combination with some increase in social activeness among small landholding peasants and agricultural workers, may be conducive to forming the prerequisites for the development of the class foundations of social struggle and of the future integration of disparate actions into a single movement to implement a broad and consistent agrarian reform in Bangladesh.

FOOTNOTES

4. EKOTA, 27 Aug 82; 5 Jan 83.

5. For detail see: A. M. Shcheglova, "The Influence of Traditionalism on the Social Processes in the Bangladesh Village," in "Razvivayushchiyesya strany: politika i ideologiya" [Developing Countries: Politics and Ideology], Moscow, 1985.

6. V. K. Jahangir. "Differentiation, Polarisation and Class Confrontation in Rural Bangladesh," Dacca, 1979, pp 242-244.

14. M. Anu, "Rural Bangladesh," BICHITRA, 1978, Special Issue, p 20 (Bengali edition); "Political Antropology Yearbook, Ideology and Interest," London, 1980, p 111.

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REPORT ON CONFERENCE ON SOCIETY, STATE IN CHINA

[Article by A. I. Kobzev: "The 16th Scientific Conference, 'Society and State in China'"]

[Excerpts] The conference took place on 6-8 February 1985 at the Oriental Studies Institute, USSR Academy of Sciences [AN]. Representatives of more than 30 of the country's scientific research institutes, higher educational institutions, scientific societies, creative unions, publishers and museums took part. Published at the conference were 139 reports, theses and papers, a record number for its 15 year history.¹ During the last 2-3 years this index has increased almost 150 percent, which is indicative of the steady increase in the authority of this representative congress, within the framework of which a wide number of problems associated with the history and culture of China from ancient times to our day are brought to light and discussed.

The conference was opened by L. P. Delyusin, chief of the China Department of the Oriental Studies Institute. He noted an increase in recent years in progressive tendencies in the development of historical science in the PRC, which is expressed, in particular, in the development of creative discussions on the importance of cultural heritage to solving modern problems. Discussed, for example, is the relationship between a most important task -- the need to increase scientific-technological and production initiative -- and the traditions of Daoism, with their orientation on a passive and contemplative world view, which many researchers of Chinese culture, including (Lu Sin) consider the most concentrated expression of the national spirit. The carrying out of agrarian reform in the PRC stimulated discussion of traditional ideals of the system of land tenure and land use, reflected in ideas about a system of "well water fields" (tszin tyan [phonetic]).² L. P. Delyusin noted that Soviet scholars are in the front ranks of those studying traditional forms of Chinese ideology, in particular Daoism, as indicated, for example, by the popular and academic success of the collection, "Dao and Daoism in China" (Moscow, 1983).³

Ideological and political aspects of the revolutionary struggle in China at the start of the 20th century were illuminated in the speeches of N. M. Kalyuzhna (Oriental Studies Institute, AN); Ye. Yu. Staburova (Latvian State University); N. L. Mamayeva (Far East Institute, AN) and V. G. Ulyanov (Far East Institute, AN). In her report, "The Theory of the 'Professional' Morality of Zhan Bin Ling," N. M. Kalyuzhnaya continued the publication, begun

at the last conference, of the results of her research of the ideological legacy of one of the leading representatives of the revolutionary thrust in Chinese thinking in the [pre-Singxi] period. Considering morality the engine of social progress and revolution, Zhan Bin Ling (1869-1936) worked out a theory of correspondence between 16 types of socio-economic activity and their moral principles. In her report, "Political Parties in China 1911-1913," Ye. Yu. Staburova concluded that the majority of the parties which appeared following the [Singxi] revolution (1911) compensated for their lack of a social base with various types of traditional and pseudo-traditional social relationships, such as solidarity among countrymen, paternalism, elitism, etc. N. L. Mamayeva, in her paper, "On the Political Program of Sun Yat-Sen and the Kuomintang in the Period of Development of the Revolutionary Movement in China," noted that by the start of the Northern Campaign (July 1926) "reliance on military forces" continued to play the role of the main form of revolutionary struggle in the political directives of the Kuomintang, which were associated with the slogan of convening a national assembly. V. G. Ulyanov's paper, "[Pen Dexai]: Pages In His Life," reflected materials from two of his reports (presented at the 15th and 16th conferences), based on the latest Chinese publications, about the early life (up to 1928) of this prominent PRC military, state and party figure. The paper submitted by A. V. Meliksetov (MGIMO) [Moscow State Institute for International Relations], "The Agrarian-Peasant Question in the History of the Chinese Revolution (Historiographical Aspects)" led to active discussion. In the paper he noted that there is a tendency in recent publications by Soviet scholars on the history of the Chinese Communist Party to assess its policy with respect to the village during the pre-revolutionary period as subordinate to the struggle for power. In a discussion about this thesis, as well as data presented by A. V. Meliksetov on the low level of social differentiation in the pre-revolutionary Chinese village, L. P. Delyusin and A. M. Grigoryev (INION AN) [Institute of Scientific Information on the Social Sciences (of the Academy of Sciences)] took part.

As in past years, Russo-Chinese cultural ties were rather widely reflected in the materials of the conference. In particular, reports by N. Yu. Novgorodskaya (IDV AN) [Far East Institute, AN], "Russia in the Creative Works of [Yuy Zhense] (1775-1840);" D. I. Belkin (Gorkiy), "China of the Future in V. F. Odoyevskiy's Book, 'The Year 4338';" Z. V. Serbinenko (MSI) [Moscow Engineering and Construction Institute imeni V. V. Kuybyshev], "The China Topic in 'Semiramide' by A. S. Khomyakov;" A. N. Khokhlov (IV AN), "Russian China Specialists and Russian Cultural Figures (A. S. Pushkin, I. S. Turgenev and G. N. Potanin)" were devoted to this topic. D. I. Belkin hypothesized that V. F. Odoyevskiy's utopian novel was not completed due to the contradictions between its Sinophile inspiration and the backwardness of the Chinese state which had been revealed in the course of the 1st Opium War. In his oral presentation, A. N. Khokhlov told about the expedition to China during 1884-1886 by G. N. Potanin (1835-1920), on the basis of which the Russian traveller, geographer, ethnographer and folklorist wrote his fundamental work, "The Outlying Tangut-Tibetan Districts and Central Mongolia" (Saint Petersburg, 1893; Moscow, 1950).

Some problems of the present situation in the PRC were brought out in reports by Yu. M. Garushyanets (Oriental Studies Institute, AN) on the industrial

reform; A. S. Mugruzin (IDV AN) on the agrarian reform and A. R. Vyatkin (IV AN) on the demographic situation.

The concluding general discussion of the report by G. E. Gorokhov and T. P. Grigoryev (both from IV AN) emphasized the need to determine more accurately the meaning of such fundamental categories of Chinese philosophy as "Dao" ("Path"); "De" ("Virtue, Paradise, Quality"); "i" ("duty, justice") and others. V. V. Malyavin (IE AN) [Ethnography Institute imeni N. N. Miklukho-Maklay, AN] indicated the danger of applying one-sided structural methods to Chinese material. L. S. Vasilyev and G. D. Sukharchuk, both from IV AN, to the contrary, noted the innovative nature and prospects for the use of this methodology in Chinese studies. L. P. Delyusin summed up the results of the conference.

FOOTNOTES

1. See: "16th Scientific Conference, 'Society and State in China.' Theses and Reports," chapters 1-3, Moscow, 1985. Editors in chief: A. I. Kobzev and A. N. Khokhlov. Compiled and edited by: G. E. Gorozkova, O. V. Zotov, A. I. Kobzev, A. A. Krushinskiy, E. A. Sinetskaya and A. N. Khokhlov.

2. For detail see: L. S. Vasilyev, "The Problem of Tszin Tyan," in "Kitay. Yaponiya. Istoriya i filologiya" [China. Japan. History and Philology], Moscow, 1961, pp 24-38.

3. See review of this collection: VOPROSY FILOSOFII, 1984, No 6, pp 166-169.

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CONFERENCE ON 40TH ANNIVERSARY OF VICTORY, INFLUENCE IN ASIA

Moscow NARODY AZII I AFRIKI in Russian No 5, Sep-Oct 85 pp 141-142

[Unsigned article concerning conference held by Oriental Studies Institute]

[Text] On 29 March 1985 a scientific conference was held in the institute's Near and Middle East Department, devoted to the 40th Anniversary of the victory of the Soviet people in the Great Patriotic War of 1941-1945. A. Z. Arabadzhyan opened the conference.

P. P. Moiseyev presented a report, "The Near and Middle East on the Eve and During World War II." During World War II, Pakistan, a part of the British colonial empire like all of India, entered the anti-Hitler coalition. There was a strong pro-German orientation on the eve of World War II in Afghanistan, Turkey and Iran. The policy of the Afghan leaders was directed at using the support of Fascist Germany to oppose imperialist Britain. The Reza-Shah attempted to consolidate his dictatorship by relying on ties with Hitler's Germany. Reactionary Turkish circles, in order to strengthen their positions, intended to revive the alliance relations which existed during World War I between the Ottoman Empire and Kaiser's Germany.

Characterizing the aggressive plans of the Hitlerites with respect to the countries of the Near and Middle East, P. P. Moiseyev emphasized that the ruling circles of several of the region's countries were inclined to cooperate with the Hitlerites. Thus, at a critical moment in the war, fall 1942, Turkey concentrated 26 divisions on the border of the Soviet Union. However, the successful resistance by the Soviet people to the Fascist aggression, especially the results of the Battle of Stalingrad, helped to lessen the pro-German and anti-Soviet policy in Turkish politics. It was only due to the selflessness of the Soviet people that Hitler's hordes did not succeed in turning the Near and Middle East into an arena of military operations. P. P. Moiseyev showed, making reference to documentary materials, that both on the eve of and during the war, the Soviet Government defended the national and state interests of its neighbors to the south in negotiations with representatives of the imperialist powers.

F. A. Rozovski, in his report, "The Influence of the Victory of the Soviet People in the Great Patriotic War on the Collapse of Great Britain's Colonial Empire in South Asia (Based on the Example of the Formation of Pakistan),"

noted that the courageous struggle by the Soviet people against the Hitlerites was of great importance to the peoples of British India. The decisive role of the Soviet Union in defeating Hitler's Germany and militaristic Japan caused a change in the correlation of forces in the international arena, which led to a strengthening of the anti-colonial struggle of the peoples of Indostan. It was precisely this struggle, emphasized the speaker, and not the good will of the metropolitan, as reactionary bourgeois historiography wants to present it, which was the main cause which forced the British colonizers to leave India and open the way to the formation of the new sovereign states, the Indian Republic and Pakistan.

S. M. Aliyev, in his report, "The Main Landmarks of Economic and Socio-Political Development of Iran After 1945," noted that it was as a result of the pro-German policy of the Reza-Shah, which was hostile to the USSR, that the allies, the Soviet Union and Britain, were forced to send limited contingents of their forces to Iran. This action hastened the collapse of the Reza-Shah dictatorship.

However, the British as well as the Americans, who appeared in Iran in 1943, opposed the democratization of the country's socio-political life. In order to strengthen the counterbalance to the growing democratic forces, they aided the consolidation of the ruling classes and reactionaries headed by the Shah. British and U. S. ruling circles, the speaker noted, broadening their expansion in Iran in the post-war period, encroached upon Iranian state independence. Therefore, special importance was attributed to the plan of the British Government, worked out by Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs Ernest Bevin. The plan provided for creating a trilateral commission with participation of representatives from Britain, the U. S. and the USSR, to solve the so-called Iranian question. U. S. Secretary of State James Byrnes supported the Bevin plan. This plan was approved in principle by the Iranian cabinet. However, the Soviet Government, true to the principles of noninterference in the internal affairs of other states, decisively opposed the plan which led to its failure. After the end of World War II, noted the speaker, the USSR undertook a number of diplomatic steps to improve relations with Iran. R. P. Korniyenko's report was devoted to the development of the international ties of the Soviet Committee of War Veterans.

In the discussions, N. G. Kireyev brought up interesting information which illustrated the anti-Soviet position of reactionary Turkish circles during World War II. This became especially obvious in 1942, during the summer offensives by the Fascist hordes on the Soviet-German front.

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YOUNG AFRICANISTS DISCUSS WORLD ROLE OF DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

Moscow NARODY AZII I AFRIKI in Russian No 5, Sep-Oct 85 pp 142-143

[Unsigned Article on USSR Academy of Sciences Africa Institute]

[Text] From 19 February through 1 March 1985 the institute held its scheduled winter school for young scholars, which was devoted to the problem: "The Role and Place of the Developing Countries in the Struggle for Peace and International Security and Against the Threat of Nuclear War."

Scholars from five Socialist countries were at the conference. African graduate students and students studying in Moscow and Kiev were also present. On the Soviet side, graduate students and young scholars from the Africa, Oriental Studies and World Economy and International Relations institutes of the USSR Academy of Sciences, and the University of the Friendship of the Peoples imeni Patrice Lumumba took part in the work of the school.

Opening the session, A. M. Vasiliyev, deputy director of the Africa Institute, AN USSR, characterized the main aspects of the struggle by the developing countries for peace and against the threat of nuclear war, and emphasized that the arms race directly includes the liberated countries in the overall process of militarization, creates dangerous centers of tension and still further exacerbates the international situation.

School participants heard reports and held discussions on the following topics: the arms race and the consequences of nuclear war for the developing countries; the non-aligned movement; U. S. policy in Africa; problems of the OAU and the causes of conflicts in Africa and methods of overcoming them. Great attention was paid to the situation in individual regions of the world. The liberation movement in southern Africa, the problems of India, the situation in the Middle East, etc., were discussed.

Leading scholars from the Africa Institute and IMEMO, and workers from a number of practical organizations spoke to the students. Ye. A. Tarabrin (Africa Institute) devoted his talk to the problem of the role and place of the developing countries in the struggle for peace. The main topic of V. L. Sheynis' (IMEMO) report was an analysis of the income distribution system in the developing countries, which causes poverty of the masses and profound inequality in property.

Z. I. Tokareva (Africa Institute) examined a number of problems related to OAU activity. M. M. Zeynalov, secretary of the Soviet committee on solidarity of the countries of Asia and Africa, discussed the events which took place after the 7th Conference of heads of state and government of the nonaligned countries, held in Dehli in 1983. V. G. Shubin devoted his report to the political situation in southern Africa. He emphasized that one of the key questions not only of African, but of all international life is the complete liberation of the continent from colonialism and racism.

L. I. Medvedko (Africa Institute) analyzed the situation which took place in the Middle East and noted that in the complex interlacing of events in this region which is becoming more and more dramatic in nature as settlement of the crisis drags out, several new tendencies are also being manifested. Positive steps are taking place in some Arab countries in the arrangement and correlation of political forces, and progressive socio-economic transformations are being realized. In other countries greater foreign and domestic reaction is being observed.

The Africa Institute, AN USSR, is making a definite contribution to working out and studying the problems which were discussed at the conference. Yu. M. Ilin spoke on this topic. He discussed the history of the creation of the institute and the activity of the scientific council on African problems. The speaker noted the importance of the international and all-union conferences being held by the institute. He also took up questions of the development of Soviet-African scientific and cultural cooperation.

The reports by graduate students studying in the USSR were of great interest to the participants in the winter school. (Mabasa Siril) (Cameroons) discussed the role of law in ensuring socio-economic development and protecting the national sovereignty of the African countries. (Avayte Dzheyms) (Ghana) examined the problems of economic decolonization of the liberated African countries. (Khelinam) (Ethiopia) discussed several questions of the Ethiopian revolution. (Akhmed Khassan) (Egypt) touched upon problems of the Arab-Israeli conflict.

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AFRICA INSTITUTE MARKS SWAPO'S 25TH ANNIVERSARY

Moscow NARODY AZII I AFRIKI in Russian No 5, Sep-Oct 85 pp 143-144

[Unsigned Article]

[Text] On 17 April of this year there was a session of the institute's scientific soviet and the Scientific Soviet on Problems of Africa of the USSR Academy of Sciences, jointly with the Soviet Committee of Solidarity of the Countries of Asia and Africa, devoted to the 25th anniversary of the People's Organization of Southwest Africa (SWAPO) [SWAPO].

An. A. Gromyko, corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences and institute director, characterized the activity of SWAPO, which is recognized by the international community as the sole legal representative of the people of Namibia. G. B. Starushenko, corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences and deputy institute director, gave a report, "The Struggle of the Namibian People Against Colonialism and For National Independence." He dealt with various stages in the process of the liberation struggle of the last colony in Africa, and noted the peculiarities of the political and diplomatic maneuvering of the apartheid regime and its western allies, who are striving to remove the question of granting independence to Namibia from the sphere of competence of the UN. At present, noted G. B. Starushenko, the main factor which is preventing a settlement of the Namibian problem is the combined American-South African blocking of negotiations on granting independence to Namibia, and the desire to "link" the prospects for solving this question to the withdrawal of Cuban forces from Angola and to the legalization of counterrevolutionary anti-government bands in this country, etc.

Since 1966 the SWAPO National Liberation Army has conducted an armed struggle against the South African colonizers. Broad masses of the country's African population have been involved in the anti-colonial struggle under SWAPO leadership. Successes in the anti-colonial struggle of Namibia, which enjoys the support of the world community, are forcing the authorities in Pretoria and their western allies to seek a way out by finding a neo-colonial solution to the Namibian question.

A. S. Pokrovskiy, chief of the section of the southern African countries, devoted his talk to the question of the responsibility of transnational corporations for the retention of the colonial occupation in Namibia and the

plunder of her natural resources. (R. Hughes) labor party member of Parliament and chairman of the British committee for the struggle against apartheid, also spoke at the conference. He reported on the activity of this public organization.

SWAPO General Secretary (A. Toyvo Ya Toyvo) discussed the fierce reprisals by the armed forces of the Republic of South Africa against the forces of liberation, the repressions against the peaceful population and the maneuvers by the authorities, aimed at creating various puppet organizations and organs of authority in the country in order to eliminate SWAPO from the political arena, and the heroic struggle of broad popular masses in Namibia, under SWAPO leadership, for freedom and independence. He expressed profound gratitude to the Soviet people and to international progressive society for all-round support of SWAPO.

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BOOK ON AFRICA'S 'SOCIALIST ORIENTED' STATES REVIEWED

Moscow NARODY AZII I AFRIKI in Russian No 5, Sep-Oct 85 pp 205-206

[Review by A. P. Andreyev and A. A. Ivanov of book: "Afrika. Strany Sotsialisticheskoy Oriyentatsii v Revolyutsionnom Protssesse" (Africa. Countries of Socialist Orientation in the Revolutionary Process) Moscow, Nauka, 1984]

[Text] The experience acquired in the process of development by countries of Socialist orientation requires constant efforts to comprehend and scientific research. From this standpoint, the collective monograph being reviewed is of undoubted interest.* The work is based on a extensive number of sources, including UN and OAU documents and various materials from the Socialist oriented African states, and it takes into account the achievements of Soviet African scholars in studying problems of Socialist orientation.

The monograph being reviewed is comprehensive in nature. It traces the processes of formation of a new state apparatus and vanguard workers parties; working out of an economic development strategy; and implementation of cultural revolution and democratization of all social life in the group of countries being studied. The work is novel primarily in that the authors pay particular attention to studying the developmental experience of "second generation" countries of Socialist orientation: Angola, Mozambique, Ethiopia, Benin and The Congo, where vanguard workers parties are in power.

The main general theoretical burden in the book is found in its first chapter, where the authors argue that Socialist orientation is the main direction of the revolutionary process in Africa and that it represents the single real alternative to Capitalist development. Characterizing the path of Socialist orientation, the authors do not idealize and do not close their eyes to the difficulties and errors in the development of the progressive African states. But a thorough analysis of the experience already available indicates the advantages which these countries have over other African states in

*Editor in chief, An. A. Gromyko. Editors: N. I. Gavrilov (leader of authors' collective); L. V. Concharov and L. M. Entin. Authors' collective: N. I. Gavrilov; An. A. Gromyko; O. A. Dolgova; L. P. Kalinina; V. Ya. Katsman; A. G. Kokiye; O. L. Nikolayeva; V. V. Pavlova; I. A. Svanidze; L. L. Fituni; V. Ye. Chirkin and L. M. Entin.

socioeconomic, political and cultural development. These successes are tangible, but they could be more significant if these countries were not the object of imperialist exploitation and interference. Forces hostile to independent Africa persistently try to involve the African countries in what is for them a burdensome arms race. The authors show fairly that "difficulties in economic and social development of the African countries can be overcome only under conditions of detente in the world and reduced expenditures for military purposes" (p 17). The anti-imperialist policy of the Socialist oriented countries also serve these objectives.

The monograph devotes particular attention to the problems of forming a vanguard workers party. Using the examples of the Congolese Labor Party, the FRELIMO Party in Mozambique; the MPLA, the Labor Party in Angola; and the People's Revolutionary Party in Benin, the authors show that in a number of African countries a new type of political organization is taking shape, which "can be viewed as a specific transitional form to Marxist-Leninist parties" (p 256). These parties devote serious attention to political work with the masses and to strengthening the social base of Socialist oriented policy. The activity of the vanguard parties is a new phenomenon in the social practice of the African countries.

Examining radical changes in a number of countries of Socialist orientation, the authors attempt to formulate criteria for their entry into a higher stage of social development, which they define as the stage of people's democratic revolution (see pages 11, 33, 79, 80 and others). However, in our view, the authors do not succeed in solving this problem completely, due primarily to inadequate methodological foundations. As is known, Marxist literature confirmed the postulate that people's democracy is one of the forms of the dictatorship of the proletariat; i.e., of Socialist government. It is customary to call a people's democratic revolution that form of revolutionary process when a bloc of political forces led by the Communist Party comes to power. In addition, the monograph does not give an exhaustive answer to the question of whether or not people's democratic revolutions in African countries are a form of Socialist revolution or are a pre-Socialist phase of the revolutionary process. In the latter case it can be defined as a special variety of national democratic revolution.

Speaking of the policy of Socialist oriented countries in the economic and social fields, the authors characterize in detail transformations which hold Socialist prospects: strengthening the state sector of the national economy, most of all in industry and agriculture; introducing planning; seeking various forms of peasant cooperation in production, etc. In this regard, one cannot help but agree with the authors' conclusion that "in recent years economic development in a number of countries of Socialist orientation is associated not only with building the material and technical base of a new society (as was the case in the 1960's and early 1970's), but also with the increasing size of the working class and its greater role in the social transformation of society" (p 258). The interesting socio-economic section of the monograph graphically shows the achievements of the young, progressive African states in the most important sphere of their conflict against the dictatorship of world Capitalism -- the economic sphere. We will indicate here one inaccuracy. The author is right that Socialist orientation can be consolidated only if it

"brings to the people not only moral values (liberation from exploitation, democratization of public life, etc.), but also material advantages" (p 102). As correct as this thesis is, it should also not be forgotten; however, that the liberation of the workers from exploitation also gives direct material advantages.

In a separate chapter the authors examined the importance of the relations of Socialist oriented countries with the Soviet Union and other Socialist states, which serve as an example of "fruitful cooperation in the struggle against Imperialism, neo-colonialism and racism, and for the peaceful future and social progress of the peoples" (p 250). At the same time, in our view it would be appropriate to give in this section a thorough critical analysis of bourgeois concepts on the problems of the alliance of world Socialism and the liberated countries.

On the whole, the authors of this monograph dealt with a wide range of problems which are important to understanding the development of revolutionary processes on the African continent. Their analysis of new phenomena served to develop further Marxist-Leninist theory on the transition of the countries liberated from colonial dependence to Socialism, bypassing Capitalism.

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BOOK ON PERSIAN GULF STATES, OIL FACTOR REVIEWED

Moscow NARODY AZII I AFRIKI in Russian No 5, Sep-Oct 85 (signed to press 10 Sep 85) pp 206-209

[Review by R. N. Andreasyan of "Persidskiy zaliv v epitsentre buri" [The Persian Gulf in the Storm's Center] by A. Vasilyev, Moscow, Politizdat, 1983]

[Text] This book under review is written in the style of political journalism and with lively, descriptive language, in order to make important scientific problems understandable to the general reader. It is based on an extensive list of sources and literature, although not revealed to the reader. In this work the author used excerpts from several of his previous publications on contemporary problems of the Middle Eastern region, supplementing them with new materials, observations and conclusions.

With all of its multifaceted content -- A. M. Vasilyev writes about the troubles of the energy crisis, the evolution of OPEC; the Iranian Revolution; the Iran-Iraq War; socio-economic advances in Saudi Arabia and many other things -- the main topic of the book is analysis of the influence of the oil factor on the fates of the peoples of the Persian Gulf Basin. They are striving to build a modern society in a difficult battle against imperialism and simultaneously overcoming the inertia and resistance of their own traditions.

Justifiably, particular attention in the book is paid to various conflicts -- internal, interstate and international. Whereas the first are associated mostly with the struggle among various social and political forces to choose the path of historic development, and the second reflects the stratification of past historic eras, expansionist aspirations of the ruling circles of some states and the neo-colonial interests of the Western powers, the third category was engendered by imperialist policy, led by the U. S., to restore control over the world's largest oil resources, to use for their own interest the multi-billion dollar incomes of the oil producing countries from the export of liquid fuel and to strengthen and expand here their military presence. The U. S. policy of force is being developed in direct proximity to the borders of a group of countries which are shaken by revolutions and counterrevolutions; countries where political power at times is in the hands of social forces with religious views of the middle ages, but who possess modern means of warfare, and where oil is literally an explosive material. Therefore, the book's title is not a publisher's exaggeration, but an accurate reflection of political realities.

I would like to direct the reader's attention to the following interesting thoughts and conclusions which are contained in the book.

Speaking about differences among the advocates of various neo-colonial policies of the U. S. in the Middle East, A. M. Vasilyev emphasizes that the view which prevailed was that of those who considered it necessary to "place reliance on the shock force of Israel, hoping with its help to throw back the national liberation movement in the Arab East, seat pro-Western capitulatory regimes and then solve the oil matters" (p 31). This led American ruling circles "to strategic mistakes, which were manifested with particular clarity in conditions of the energy crisis" (Ibid.). It is true that during this crisis American companies lost their oil concessions in the Arab countries, were forced to give back control over oil and gas management to the hands of national governments and were deprived of differential rents. It is also true that American society experienced a profound moral and political shock from the oil embargo carried out by the Arab countries in 1973-1974.

However, foreign oil companies remained in the region in the role of production contractors. They have basically retained their monopoly on the sale of oil, have exploited in their own interests the oil price increases, raised the prices for petroleum products for consumers and created profitable conditions for the exploitation of costly Alaskan and North Sea oil. The West thereby succeeded in reducing its dependence on the OPEC area. As the author justifiably notes, the "nouveau riche" on the banks of the Persian Gulf invest a substantial portion of their tremendous oil incomes in the economies of the centers of Capitalism, becoming shareholders in the military-industrial complex and turning into an element of the international financial oligarchy (p 268). "Within limited bounds the Arabian financial centers," the book states, "can play an independent, although not a determining role." Interdependence of old and new Capitalist financial centers is forming, with the dominant role that of the West in world Capitalist finances and credits (p 94). The wealthy oil elite seeks military and political protection from the U. S. and is even more hostile towards the national liberation and national revolutionary democratic movement. The rapid economic development of the Arab oil monarchies and the growth of their armed forces is enriching new groups of foreign monopolies. The development of private enterprise in some countries, which formally were on the path of Socialist orientation, has led to a push to the right in their foreign and domestic policies. Under these conditions the U. S. can simultaneously support Israeli expansionism and retain its economic and political positions in the oil monarchies and a number of other Arab countries. At the same time, it is obvious that the U. S. and Israel suffered defeat in Lebanon and that Washington has not succeeded in forcing Syria, Liberia, the NDRI [People's Democratic Republic of Yemen] or Algeria to turn back from their anti-Imperialist policies.

Tracing the oil price battle and noting price reductions in 1983, A. M. Vasilyev believes with good reason that the West is not interested in the fact that this reduction undermined the profitability of developing deposits in the North Sea and shifting to alternative energy sources. This transition itself is hampered by various ecological factors. "The prerequisites for overcoming the energy crisis exist," the author concludes, "Although the self-interested policy of the monopolies complicates this process" (p 76).

A third of the book is devoted to the overthrow of the Shah's regime in Iran and to the sharp crisis in relations between the U. S. and post-Shah Iran, as well as to the Iran-Iraq conflict. The author characterizes sensitively and in detail the inner contradiction of the Shah's policy of modernizing the country on a neo-colonial basis and preserving an Eastern type autocracy. A. M. Vasilyev discloses the true reasons why the anti-Shah and anti-American movement was headed by the Shiite clergy. Economically and ideologically enfringed upon by the Shah, it was able to express the demands of the socially humiliated, but politically inexperienced marginal strata of the population while furiously suppressing truly progressive forces and organizations. As a result, the struggle against developing Capitalism spread from the positions of orthodox Islam. Society was called upon not to go forward, but backward, to the Middle Ages and darkness. Overall the author correctly characterizes the social and political doctrines of the Shiite movement in Islam and the history of Khomeini's coming to power. At the same time, we would like to see a clearer characterization of the reactionary aspect of Islam, which, far from accidentally, but entirely naturally found expression in the repressions against progressive forces; in a desire to educate the people in the spirit of hatred to advanced ideas, especially the ideas of Marxism-Leninism; and in a rejection of the initial instructions to eliminate Capitalism and an ever-growing encouragement of the bourgeoisie. Thus, the extremely limited positive force existing in Islamic movements exhausts itself already in the stage of struggle against imperialism and its henchmen.

Undoubtedly the most scientifically interesting part of the book is its last chapter, "Arabia Between Archaism and the Present." Here the author supplements and develops the postulates contained in his monograph on the history of Saudi Arabia.¹ A special place is occupied by analysis of the present structure of Saudi society, which is undergoing a bourgeois transformation. A special feature of the ruling class of Saudi Arabia, as well as of the sheikdoms, writes Vasilyev, is the fact that the riches in its hands are due to its status as a "feudal-tribal ruling clique of a Middle Eastern type, sanctified by Islam and canonized by the Sharia [Muslim law], which relies on a state machine the upper echelon of which is the 'Saudi tribe,' a suppressive apparatus in the form of the army, police and courts, and on the remnants of a military tribal organization. The main source of income for the rulers of the oil monarchies is the appropriation of a unique form of land income obtained due to the presence in the ground of tremendous quantities of oil" (pp 267-268). I would like to clarify and develop this thought. As a result of the high natural productive force of labor in producing oil the ruling circles of these monarchies obtain a tremendous differentiated income, and as a result of the higher market prices for oil over the cost of production in locations with the worst development conditions (Alaska and the North Sea) they still receive monopoly income. This situation, in turn, makes it possible to redistribute the surplus product of the entire Capitalist world to the benefit of the oil monarchies, and for them to appropriate a part of the surplus value created by the workers of the fuel importing countries.

As the author notes, distribution of oil income is based on feudal practice -- from above to below, from the monarch to his entourage, to the feudal-tribal

elite and the merchants (p 269). The feudal-monarchical leadership remained primarily a feudal (although also "bourgeoisified") class. Its own big bourgeoisie also developed, as Vasilyev writes, based on trade, land speculation, contracts and partially on industrial activity. It grew with the regime, which allows it to enrich itself, and cooperates with foreign capital, in so doing taking on the nature of a comprador. Therefore, it can be considered a "national bourgeoisie" only with great reservations. But at the same time this bourgeoisie is dissatisfied because it does not have access to the apex of power and because the feudal-tribal elite does not wish to enter into marriage with it. The big bourgeoisie fears that the archaic nature of the regime will in the end lead to social upheaval and, therefore, it seeks reforms (pp 268-270). The middle layers of the national bourgeoisie (small retail tradespeople, the wealthy peasants, owners of small enterprises) are dissatisfied with their complete lack of political rights. Representatives of the revolutionary democratic opposition come from the middle urban strata (p 271).

The author is correct in stating that for the majority of residents of Saudi Arabia pre-Capitalist forms of exploitation are combined with Capitalist forms, and that their standard of living has increased as little as the increased revenues of the state permit (Ibid.). By the beginning of the 1980's more than half of the native population of Saudi Arabia and a significant portion of the residents of the sheikdoms are people associated with pre-Capitalist structures. All of this made it possible for Vasilyev to evaluate the society as a feudal-Capitalist society (p 272). I would add that in this process of extremely rapid Capitalist modernization, the society of the small oil exporting countries by the mid-1980's almost entirely, and Saudi Arabia apparently to a large extent, have become bourgeois, both in the portion of Capitalist structure in the gross national product (which came to be much earlier), and in the portion of hired workers in the overall number of those employed.

The author's thought is correct that in a society where "Capitalism was superimposed on feudal relations, complicated by a semi-caste structure, social boundaries are broken and partially eroded" (Ibid.). Here familial and tribal relations are still retained, which hide class ties and class exploitation. The disdain felt by a significant portion of the population, especially the nomadic and semi-nomadic tribes, toward industrial labor; the systematic corrupting of the native proletariat with handouts in an attempt to turn it into a worker aristocracy, along with harsh exploitation of foreign workers; and keeping the workers under the ideological influence of the sheiks and Muslim clergy all help those in power to maintain their social privileges. Such events as the seizure of the Grand Mosque in Mecca by religious extremists and the actions by Shiites in the Eastern Province in 1979, which are discussed in detail in the book, were a tremendous shock to the Saudi Arabian regime. The author makes a well-founded conclusion: "The old social balance in Saudi Arabia and in the sheikdoms has been destroyed, but no new balance has been created, despite all of the props and partial measures. This condition is unstable and fraught with the most unexpected forms of social explosion" (p 276).

In conclusion, Vasilyev writes: "The giddy rate of changes make obsolete any conclusions and observations made in this book. But if the reader feels himself the complexity, variety and confusion of the situation in the Persian Gulf region, and if it turns out that the author has succeeded in finding the main threads which comprise the tangle of problems in this region, then his task can be said to have been fulfilled" (p 287). One cannot but agree with this conclusion. The author accomplished the task set before him.

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